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ABSTRACT

This literature review, while not comprehensive, is aimed at informing the Strengthening Local Education Capacity project under way in Indonesia. Strategies that strengthen educational capacities at the school and local levels were reviewed, followed by strategies for local governance. Two school governance models, public choice and public service, were reviewed. The public-choice model proposes moving closer to a private-market solution by allowing parents greater school choice through privatization and voucher systems. Other countries' practical experience with this model already indicates deleterious consequences for equity and access. The public-service model aims to change methods of providing services through collectivist and consumerist strategies. Local governance encompasses two dimensions (political and legal) influencing local elites' delivery of educational services. In a decentralized system, the local level will increasingly be required to provide the linkage between the local and central levels. Three local-governance strategies are reviewed: local institutional development, promoted by large donor agencies, especially USAID; the learning-process approach, based on five successful Asian decentralization experiences; and third sector collaboration, recognizing the importance of commitment and support from voluntary organizations. (Includes an executive summary and a topically organized listing of 128 references.) (MLH)

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PLANNING PROJECT

A GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA - USAID PROJECT

Literature Review on Decentralization

Strengthening Local Educational Capacity

June 1992

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Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PLANNING PROJECT

A GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA - USAID PROJECT

Literature Review on Decentralization

Strengthening Local Educational Capacity

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This literature review is a component of the research and knowledge building efforts in Strengthening Local Education Capacity (SLEC), an initiative of the USAID Improving the Efficiency of Education Systems Project (IEES) in Indonesia. The intent of this effort was to:

- selectively review available literature on practices and structures at the local level which strengthen local educational capacity to achieve desired educational outcomes.

Purpose of the Review

The purpose of this literature review was highly strategic, i.e., to review practices and structures that potentially support the strengthening of local educational capacity. The purpose was not a comprehensive review of the literature, but was undertaken specifically to contribute to informing the SLEC project currently underway in Indonesia.

A set of questions is commonly being asked of the literature by educational policy makers in Indonesia. The questions asked are questions of implementation, purpose, or effect. This is supported by the familiar but critical organizational wisdom that: "structure must follow function." In other words, desired outcomes should steer structure and practice, not the other way around.

Educational Outcomes

Clarity of outcomes means less confusion about what we want to decentralize for what purpose, and guides the selection and evaluation of the how's. It supports a more lucid discussion about what outcomes may be achieved through what means. Clarity on the desired outcomes of decentralization, therefore, must drive the search for practices and structures.

Based on systems theory literature, two types of system outcomes can be identified. There are system outcomes that are specifically goal oriented, such as national integration, the knowledge base required for particular national industries, or access to education. There are other outcomes that are dynamic and diversified, such as increased capacity for self-governance, the valuing and practice of learning, or the quality of creativity and innovation.

Goal-oriented outcomes are ordained and arrived at through more comprehensive, logistical planning, implementation, and evaluation strategies. Goals may be set to meet the needs of the national, regional, provincial, or district levels. Dynamic, diversified outcomes are unique, constantly growing and changing, and arrived at through more participative, iterative planning, implementation, and evaluation strategies. Diversified outcomes may be supported by establishing appropriate direction and processes for participation.

It is from an appreciation of the complexity of the outcomes sought and the scope of participation required that strategies for decentralizing can be interpreted, selected, tested, and evaluated.

Strengthening Local Educational Capacities

Strategies that strengthen local educational capacities at the school and local levels were reviewed, followed by strategies for local governance. They were

reviewed in terms of how they affect the realization of educational outcomes.

Alternative Models of School Governance

Two school governance models, public choice and public service, were reviewed. One is market-based and relies on economic concepts, while the second is non-market based and relies on administrative and political concepts. The public choice model proposes moving closer to a private market solution by allowing parents to have a greater degree of choice in the selection of their children's schools. Although this alternative model of school governance is promoted strongly as a policy alternative by the donor community, practical experiences in countries who have experimented with the public choice model already indicate serious deleterious consequences on equity and access. The public service model for decentralizing school governance seeks to change the way in which the provision of services is undertaken, not to replace the provision of public services with private services. Each model houses two main strategies for decentralization. The public choice model includes two strategies: privatization and vouchers or user fees. The public service model includes two strategies: collectivist and consumerist (Hoggett & Hambleton (1987).

Local Governance

Local governance encompasses two dimensions: political and legal. Both dimensions offer opportunities and constraints to local political elites to shape the delivery of educational services. Strengthening local educational capacity at the local governance level along the legal and political dimension is critical in support of changes introduced at the local school level. In a decentralized system, the local level will increasingly be required to provide the linkage between the school and the central level.

Three strategies for strengthening local educational capacity at the local governance level are reviewed. **Local institutional development** has been recognized by large donor agencies, especially USAID, to be critical for successful implementation and longevity of decentralization projects as both a means for strengthening educational capacity at the local level as well as a general development end in itself. The concern for strengthening local educational capacity becomes what kinds and combinations of local institutions are likely to be most appropriate and supportive of what kinds of educational activities, and how they can best be supported. **The learning process approach** based on five successful Asian experiences in decentralization emphasizes the degree of fit between the program design, the needs of the ultimate beneficiary, and the capacities of the assisting organization. The critical fit is between the ability of the beneficiaries to define, articulate, and communicate their needs and the assisting organization to receive and respond to the information. **Third sector collaboration** recognizes that voluntary organizations may prove key allies in activities which require support and commitment over the long term. Yet, the literature indicates the difficulty in linking up with local institutions effectively (Uphoff, 1986).

One of the most important lessons learned is that strengthening local capacity is a developmental process of experimenting, learning from errors, gaining experience, and building local institutions that reflect the needs, goals and outcomes, and values of the local level. Intersectoral experiences indicate that long-term commitment from leadership, building of local experience and practice,the fit between the articulation and communication of local needs and the ability of the central administrative level to respond to and support local initiatives are some of the key factors in the success of strengthening capacities at the local level.

Strengthening capacities at the local level alone is not sufficient in and of itself to accomplish educational goals and outcomes desired at the national and local levels. Strengthening capacity at the national level to respond and provide appropriate support to local level initiatives are needed simultaneously. Building the capacity of donor organizations to assist in ways that are truly responsive to locally identified and defined needs, while building local technical capacity which support the strengthening of local educational capacity initiatives at the national level is another key to strengthening local capacity successfully (Korten, 1980).

SECTION ONE

PROCEDURE

Although the procedures undertaken in this literature review are described sequentially, the steps were taken at times simultaneously and/or cyclically.

Step 1

The first step was to ascertain the purpose of the literature review. Key documents delineating the need for and scope of a literature review were reviewed and project directors were consulted. This literature review is a component of the research and knowledge building efforts in Strengthening Local Education Capacity (SLEC), an initiative of the USAID Improving the Efficiency of Education Systems Project (IEES) in Indonesia. The intent of this effort is to:

- selectively review available literature on practices and structures at the local level which strengthen local educational capacity to achieve desired educational outcomes.

In this regard, the purpose of this literature review is not comprehensive, but strategic. The intent is highly utilitarian and pragmatic in its search for what works or does not work, under what conditions, and why.

The topic of decentralization is expansive. It has been a subject of intense interest to both academics and practitioners of government administration for more than four decades. From the early seventies onward, interest in decentralization has expanded to include academics and practitioners in a wide variety of disciplines and sectors as well as international donor agencies (Conyers, 1983, 1984).

This literature review focuses selectively on education, specifically on strengthening local educational capacity for the purpose of achieving desired educational outcomes. Though the review focuses on decentralization experiences in education, it also draws on some decentralization experiments generally in government to provide a broader scope for understanding decentralization both conceptually and practically.

Step 2

The second step of this literature review was to collect a broad base of information. Preliminary sources were gathered from the IEES Project Clearinghouse and the Florida State University library. A computer search (LUIS) identified a range of sources such as books, dissertations, and compiled bibliographies. The *Vance Bibliographies on Decentralization in Government,* for example, identified journal articles, books, monographs, and project reports in the field of government and public administration.

In addition to a university library search, informal, open-ended interviews were conducted with key informants, IEES consultants, and Florida State University faculty to identify further sources and references on decentralization. Key informants were approached based on their previous work and experience in the area of decentralization. Interviews with these key informants yielded additional authors, project documents, journal articles, and other references. The same informants were also asked to review drafts of the review.

Materials collected fell within a range of information sources:

- Books
- Dissertations
- Case studies
- Journal articles
- Project reports
- Monographs
- Conference proceedings
- Literature reviews

Based on this information collection procedure, the reference section of this report has been grouped into three categories:

- Decentralization in Education
- Case Studies of Decentralization in Education
- Additional References
  - Overviews of Decentralization
  - Case Studies of Decentralization in Government

Due to time and resource constraints, this literature review is confined to sources in the English language that could be accessed through the university library, interlibrary loan, individual references, and project documents.

Step 3

The third step was to design a conceptual framework to guide the strategic review, the organization of the reporting, and the interpretation of the literature. An important part in the conceptual framework was the definition of key terms. The clarification of terms relied heavily on US usage. The rationale for this stems from the fact that reform ideas and practices specific to the US experience tend to be extended to other countries and promoted as policy priorities by major donor agencies such as the World Bank and USAID with the least amount of modification. Clarity on the usage as well as practical experience with the major concepts in their country of origin, will serve to provide a context and elucidate the caveats and shortfalls that must be kept in mind in the transfer of ideas and policies.

The conceptual framework was conceived as dynamic in the sense that it guided the search for materials collection and review of the literature, which in turn modified and refined the conceptual framework, which in turn guided further specific search for literature. This conceptual framework is presented in Section Two.

Step 4

The fourth step was to utilize the conceptual framework to review, interpret,and report the information. Reviewers provided feedback and comment to early drafts which helped to refine and sharpen the presentation.

SECTION TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework was developed to address the purpose of the literature review and to structure a strategy for accomplishing that purpose. This section then closes with definitions of a few key terms.

Purpose of the Review

The purpose of this literature review is highly strategic, i.e., to review practices and structures that potentially support the strengthening of local educational capacity. The purpose is not a comprehensive review of the literature, but is undertaken specifically to contribute to informing the SLEC project currently underway in Indonesia. There is ample literature that focuses on the concept of decentralization, its varied meanings, the different rationales, the multiple permutations of decentralization in practice, and its consequences. For a comprehensive review see Conyers (1983; 1984; 1986), Maddick (1963), Rondinelli (1981; 1984; 1986; 1989), and Smith (1979, 1985).

A constellation of pressures at the local, national, and international levels converge to move governments towards decentralization. At the local level, demands for more autonomy are rising supported by increasing local competencies. At the national level, increasing expenditures for the provision of ever-expanding educational opportunities are being met by shrinking national revenues. At the global level, the rapidity of technological change coupled with increasing regional and global competition for the same markets are causing governments to take a serious look at the quality of their human resources. Not only do these current pressures impel the need for decentralization, the argument was advanced almost twenty years ago that decentralization actually served to strengthen unity and promote development (Maddick, 1963). National governments, thus, are well aware of the variety of pressures that augur the need for decentralization.

In this context Indonesia faces the daunting task of meeting political demands for increased access and equity to quality education. Evidence from the private sector, especially following the publication of the best seller "In Search of Excellence," indicate that highly centralized bureaucracies cannot effectively achieve quality outcomes. Especially in countries like Indonesia, which are characterized by great diversity -- culturally, spatially, and demographically -- quality outcomes cannot be effectively achieved through centralized, hierarchical educational bureaucracies. Indonesia, for example, which runs one of the world's largest existing centralized educational systems, has realized this and decreed, in 1987, a national commitment to decentralizing government administration and developing local educational capacity (Indonesian ref, Cummings, 1992).

Decentralization in some form, thus, is inevitable. The question is no longer that of "should we decentralize"? The burning question has become one of "how to decentralize?" and "what will be achieved by decentralizing" in a country like Indonesia? This then leads to the critical questions: "what are the desired goals or outcomes of decentralization?" and "how can decentralization be operationalized to achieve those goals?"

A set of questions is commonly being asked of the literature by educational policy makers in Indonesia. These questions largely address issues of strategy:

- What strategies at the local level can be employed to strengthen local educational capacity to assume

responsibilities of decentralization?
- What are some actual, successful experiences in decentralization at the local level and what were the:
  - implementation issues for the school and local level supporting organizations?
  - local contextual factors that promoted success or failure?
  - pre-conditions and/or enabling factors that allowed for decentralization that was sustainable over time?
- How do strategies at the local level for strengthening local educational capacity affect educational outcomes?

The questions asked are questions of implementation, purpose, or effect. This is supported by the familiar but critical organizational wisdom that: "structure must follow function." In other words, desired outcomes should steer structure and practice, not the other way around. Clarity on the desired outcomes of decentralization, therefore, must drive the search for practices and structures. The following questions about educational outcomes provided conceptual guidance to the review.

Educational Outcome Questions

- What are the desired educational goals and outcomes in Indonesia?
- How might different models of decentralization support the achievement of different goals or outcomes?
- What processes might assist at the national and local levels to clarify desired outcomes and test alternative strategies?

These educational outcome questions cannot be directly answered from the literature we have today, but they greatly shape a way to think about issues of decentralization.

Strategy

Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual framework guiding this literature review. It is comprised of three domains:

- Educational Outcomes, which represent the goals and outcomes desired by the national and local levels.
- Local Level Strategies, which represent those practices and structures at the local level that support the strengthening of local educational capacity.
- National Level Strategies, which represent those practices and structures at the national level that support the strengthening of local educational capacity.

Each domain requires careful consideration in the policy debate of why, what, and how to decentralize.

Educational Outcomes

It is essential to be clear about outcomes. Clarity of outcomes means less confusion about what we want to decentralize for what purpose, and guides the selection and evaluation of the how's. It supports a more lucid discussion about what outcomes may be achieved through what means.

Based on systems theory literature, two types of system outcomes can be identified (Briggs & Peat, 1989; Forrester, 1968; 1975; Maruyama, 1963; Richmond, et al, 1987). There are system outcomes that are specifically goal oriented, such as national integration, the knowledge base required for particular national industries, or access to education. There are other outcomes that are dynamic and diversified, such as increased capacity for self-governance, the valuing and practice of learning, or the quality of creativity and innovation.

Goal-oriented outcomes are ordained and arrived at through more comprehensive, logistical planning, implementation, and evaluation strategies. Goals may be set to meet the needs of the national, regional, provincial, or district levels. They must be centralized (or decentralized) to the appropriate level. For instance, some national standards on the knowledge base required for the development and stability of the nation are appropriate, but should be kept to a minimum. Some regions or provinces may have particular industrial or cultural strengths to build on and set standards to minimize later brain drain and to ensure a

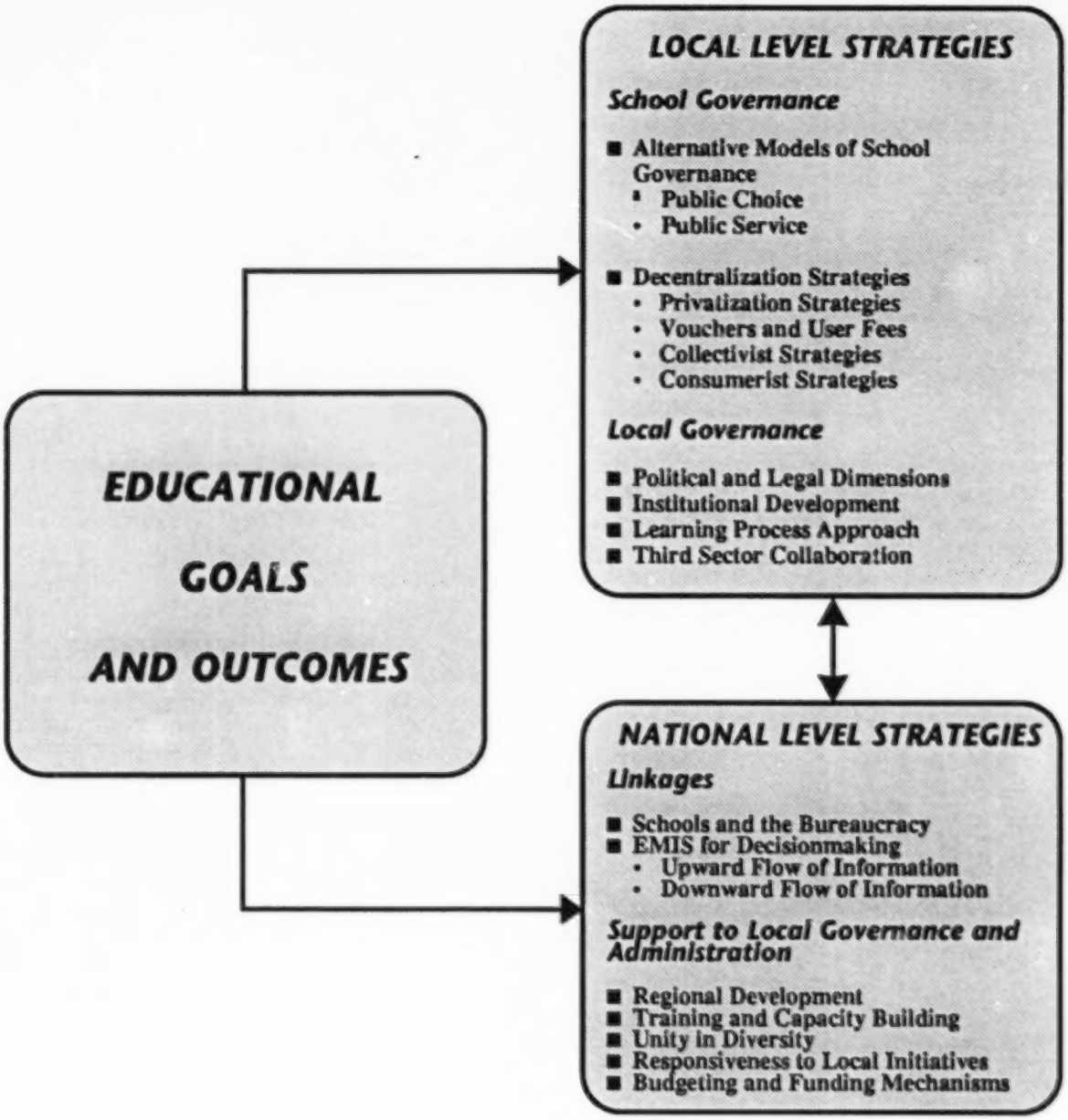

Figure 1. Conceptual framework: Strategies at the Local and National Levels to Support the Achievement of Educational Outcomes

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labor force with a locally appropriate knowledge base. When the outcome is goal-oriented, responsibility for it must be centralized (or decentralized) to the appropriate level. Or, put another way, the local capacity (at various levels) must be strengthened to define and assume the responsibility for goals appropriate at their level.

Dynamic, diversified outcomes are unique, constantly growing and changing, and arrived at through more participative, iterative planning, implementation, and evaluation strategies. Diversified outcomes may be supported by establishing appropriate direction and processes for participation. The nature of these outcomes requires participation and practice. The purposes and processes must be highly structured, yet allow for great flexibility in the substance and product. They also are long-term and developmental which require specific institutional commitment to the process over time. These outcomes must be addressed at the student and school levels, engaging students, teachers, family and community members, and others in the responsibility for these outcomes. Local capacity and also local commitment must be strengthened to achieve these outcomes.

These different types of outcomes may exist at all levels. The process of defining and gaining a commitment to goals is strengthened by consideration in participatory processes, both horizontally and vertically. On the other hand, the execution and accomplishment of goals require clear managerial authority and accountability.

It is from an appreciation of the complexity of the outcomes sought and the scope of participation required that strategies for decentralizing can be interpreted, selected, tested, and evaluated.

Local Level Strategies

At the local level, two areas can be identified as relevant to realizing desired outcomes:

- School governance, which reviews practices and structures of school decisionmaking that support the achievement of educational outcomes:
  - Alternative Models of School Governance
    - Public Choice
    - Public Service
    - Decentralization Strategies
      - Privatization Strategies
      - Vouchers and User Fees
      - Collectivist Strategies
      - Consumerist Strategies
- Local governance, which reviews practices and structures of local administrative decisionmaking that support the achievement of educational outcomes:
  - Political and Legal Dimensions
  - Institutional Development
  - Learning Process Approach
  - Third Sector Collaboration

National Level Strategies

At the national level, two areas are identified as relevant to realizing desired outcomes:

- Linkages
  - Schools and the Bureaucracy
  - EMIS for Decisionmaking
    - Upward Flow of Information
    - Downward Flow of Information
- Support to Local Governance and Administration
  - Regional Development
  - Training and Capacity Building
  - Unity in Diversity
  - Responsiveness to Local Initiatives
  - Budgeting and Funding Mechanisms

These two levels are separated for conceptual purposes. Yet, together they form a whole system, politically and operationally. Vertical integration of policy across levels is therefore essential.

Definition of Terms

Because the breadth of decentralization terminology may serve to obscure as well as enlighten understanding, some key terms used in this review are briefly clarified below:

- Decentralization or Strengthening Local Educational Capacity?
- Local
- Governance
- Educational Outcomes

The definition of these terms leans heavily on US usage and experience. This is not coincidental. Reform ideas fashioned in the US tend to be promoted worldwide by international lending agencies such as the World Bank and USAID, regardless of the political readiness or desirability on the part of the recipient country (Bock & Arthur, 1991). As this terminology greatly shapes policies and initiatives worldwide, keeping it present as a backdrop in order to glean conditions or principles of successes as well as failures is instructive.

Decentralization or Strengthening Local Educational Capacity?

Decentralization means different things to different people in different contexts. It is a term that harbors a multiplicity of meanings and as a result is prescribed as the solution to a multiplicity of problems. The concept thus becomes an almost "bland term." For this reason, more narrowly descriptive terms have emerged, such as ""public choice" and "public service reform" (Hoggett & Hambleton, 1987), "management reform" (Cummings, et al, 1992), "school restructuring" (Papagiannis, et al, 1991), and "strengthening local educational capacity" (IEES, 1991). A brief historical look serves to illustrate this point.

In the fifties and early sixties, countries still under colonial jurisdiction decentralized in the form of a limited *deconcentration* (shifting of responsibilities to lower levels within the same agency) for the purpose of removing some of the burden of providing local services from the central government. In the early seventies and eighties, independent nations undertook decentralization activities in the form of deconcentration and *devolution* (shifting of authority to local government) for the purpose of increasing popular participation in national development. In the late eighties and nineties, decentralization is taking the form of management reform (strengthening managerial capacities of those closest to the consumer) for the purpose of improving the quality of services provided while increasing the efficiency (see Conyers, 1983, 1984; Cummings, et al, 1992; Rondinelli, 1981; Sherwood, 1992).

Decentralization also goes by another name in the US: school restructuring. This reform movement, fueled by the notion of providing quality education, seeks to institute changes in patterns of decisionmaking at the local school level (see Papagiannis, et al, 1991). Just as decentralization has been promoted as the answer to a host of societal ills, school restructuring seems to be the solution to a wide variety of educational problems: falling achievement scores on standardized tests, the nation's potential loss of competitive edge on the international market, concerns for equity and social justice, the deterioration of teacher quality, and the loss of faith in incremental change to achieve any long-lasting reform of the system (Papagiannis, et al, 1991).

Decentralization is defined for this review as the strengthening of local educational capacity which places an emphasis on organizational and managerial capacity building at the local and school levels. Strengthening local educational capacity is based on two closely related assumptions: (1) institutional capacities at the local level are poor or non-existent; and (2) local capacity requires strengthening in order to lead or support successful reform efforts. Evidence consistently indicates that a major determinant of successful decentralization is the prior level of institutional capacity or training (Cummings, et al, 1992; Papagiannis, et al, 1991; Wainggai, 1985; Winkler, 1988). The implication is that strengthening local educational capacity is an important prerequisite for successful decentralization, whether that be in the form of deconcentration, devolution, or management reform.

Local

The term local is not simple. The meaning of local varies according to whether the vantage point is one of an outside agency or of the local people themselves. From the central level, the term local encompasses three hierarchical levels:

- Locality, a set of communities having cooperative and commercial relations (district or sub-district).
- Community, a relatively self-contained, socio-economic-residential unit (village or other area).
- Group, a self-identified set of persons grouped by a common interest (such as an occupational, ethnic, caste, age, sex, religious, or neighbourhood grouping). (adapted from Uphoff, 1986, p. 11).

At each of these levels, decisionmaking and activity involve collective action. From the vantage point of the individual, levels are seen in concentric circles:

- Household, which encompasses the individuals' primary identifications, i.e., family relations.
- Group, which encompasses the reference groups with which the individual identifies, gives loyalty, commitment, and long-term support.
- Community, which encompasses the self-contained, socio-economic and residential unit to which the individual belongs.
- Locality, which encompasses the set of communities with which the individual's community has cooperative and commercial relations. (adapted from Ralston, et al, 1983; Uphoff, 1986, p. 12-13).

As Uphoff (1986) argues, it is not drawing firm boundaries between what is local and what is not that is important, but the central level's ability to move through these levels in order to meet the unique and diverse needs and requirements of the individual school, child, and family. In fact, formal jurisdictions usually do not consistently constitute localities and communities. Therefore, policies concerning local areas should be applied based on a knowledge of the locations, not based on a general requirement approach.

The traditional argument against devolution has been that the institutional capacities at the local level are insufficiently prepared or even incapable of handling newly conferred authorities and responsibilities. Specifically, in the case of highly centralized, hierarchical nations, the argument has been made that well-articulated, political interest groups are insufficiently developed or even entirely absent at the local level to ensure successful participation in educational reform efforts (see Bock & Arthur, 1991). This, however, may be too generalized as localities vary in the extent and vitality of local institutions (Uphoff, 1986). Wide differences exist in institutional capacities at the local level, which has provided the impetus for taking a closer look at the local level.

Governance

Fundamental to decentralization is the concept of "governance." Governance has become the focus of much attention following the recent unprecedented fall of centralized communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In the US too, concerns about the failure of the federal government to serve all its people are in the forefront of public and academic debate. The intense public interest aroused by the recent book release, *Reinventing Government* by David Osborne, advocates new forms of decentralized government structures and bears testimony to a decline of trust and faith in the abilities of present government structures to govern. The continual increase in population sizes and the complexity of activity and interrelationships within and among these populations pose inevitable issues of scale in the ability to govern.

According to Osborne (1992), governance is "the collective act of solving our collective problems" (Restructuring State Government Symposium, 1992). In view of this definition, the political system requires continual scaling, practice, and reform as population size and the society change. The means to bring about such reform is seen in managerial terms with a goal of managing or facilitating public exploration of, understanding of, and commitment to action on public issues. Osborne advances decentralized governance in the form of public entrepeneurship as one of the major strategies for providing quality services to the consumer.

Another definition of governance is offered by the *Decentralization: Finance & Management Project (DFM)*, a five-year project funded by USAID. Governance is defined as "a structure or ordered set of rules and incentives that guide the interactions of individuals dealing with a specific problem in a particular physical environment" (DMF, 1991, Winter). Based on this definition, institutional problems of rural infrastructure and resource management stem from "rule-ordered relationships, both informal and formal, [that] create incentives for different actors in a society, and so facilitate or impede developmental opportunities" (DMF, 1991, Winter, p. 1). Though they claim a neutral definition, their approach to decentralization is based on clear political preferences. A democratic

system of governance is advocated to develop "an institutional environment that empowers citizens to affect the course of their own development" thereby enhancing the ability of government officials to be responsive to citizen interest (p. 1).

Papagiannis, et al (1991) have pointed out the importance of the concept of school governance in the school restructuring movement. Indeed, school restructuring is defined in terms of governance:

> "a significant change in the pattern of school governance, where governance refers to norms and practices of decision-making regarding three critical realms of school life: (1) instructional methodology and curriculum; (2) administrative management and organization; and (3) the generation, allocation and use of resources" (1991, p. 2).

School governance thus "establishes who will decide how schools are run, and in what manner these decisions will be made" (p. 3-4). In line with the emphasis on improving the quality of service, the reasoning behind decentralizing education is that local ownership of innovations and increased independence and responsibility of those closest to the delivery of services (especially teachers and principals) will have an impact on performance (Hill & Bonan, 1991, Papagiannis, et al, 1991). The expected results of these reforms are noted to be positive impact on learning and student achievements.

Governance is fundamentally about collective discourse, understanding, and commitment to action. It is about control in a very diverse, complex, social environment. Who controls education has been pointed out to be much more difficult to ascertain than who delivers and who pays for it (Cummings & Riddell, 1992). Yet, as Papagiannis, et al (1991) argue, it remains the critical issue. Changes in the socio-technology of education, i.e. improvements in the instructional, administrative, and budgetary areas of school life, are sustainable only when issues of governance are clearly addressed.

Educational Outcomes

Educational outcomes were discussed under the strategy for this literature review. As pointed out, being clear on the outcomes to be achieved and the nature of those outcomes should assist in designing strategies for what and how to decentralize. In addition, three factors should be considered in reviewing the design of strategies: access, equity, and quality. These factors are by no means simple nor always compatable, still each should be considered equally.

Access. Since the days of independence from colonial subjugation, Third World countries have been concerned with access to schooling. The highest priority has been, and still is, access, irrespective of deteriorating quality. The proportion of school-age children enrolled in primary and secondary schools continues to grow in many developing countries, thereby increasing educational expenditures as well. Yet, for political reasons, governments cannot afford to abandon a national commitment to access for all children, even if this means access to poor education. This has been justified by the argument that since education is "a scarce commodity, access to even poor schooling is better than no access at all, as it is the certification that opens the gates to new occupational opportunities, not the quality of the instruction" (Bock & Arthur, 1991, p. 323).

This argument is debatable, however, as Cummings & Riddell (1992) question "whether increased access to an inferior education in a job market requiring escalating credentials is really the increase in access as intended (or at least as desired by the majority of the population)" (p. 52). What is more, they question whether increased access to relatively low-quality institutions, though capable of raising achievement levels, but not to a passing level, is indeed sufficient (Cummings & Riddell, 1992, p. 61).

Because expenditures are taxing dwindling national resources, decentralization for greater school and community involvement and support of educational services presents itself as an attractive funding alternative.

Equity. Another major concern of educators in the Third World is the issue of equity. A more equitable

distribution of educational opportunities, especially to children in peripheral areas in the nation, has become an important educational outcome. A need persists to diminish, if not eliminate, the large disparities between geographic areas and income groups. Today, equity remains firmly on policy agendas as large inequities in educational spending still exist between urban and rural areas, geographic regions, and income groups (Winkler, 1988). There are two types of equity that draw concern: horizontal and vertical equity (Winkler, 1988).

Horizontal equity refers to "equal treatment to individuals in like circumstances" (Winkler, 1988, p. 19). Depending on the local tax base, local schools may have more or less income or wealth. Winkler (1988) suggests that this horizontal equity problem can be ameliorated through central government distribution of grants-in-aid, the per capita size of which is inversely related to the local tax base. Another strategy suggested is that the central government distributes grants to local schools, the per student size of which is inversely related to the local tax base per pupil (p. 19-20). Vertical equity refers to "the relationship between educational expenditures and family, community, or regional income or wealth" (p. 19-20). In an idealized situation, all children would receive "the same value of educational resources, measured either on a per year basis or on a lifetime basis" (p. 20).
Depending on the resource base of the individual school or community to which power is devolved, increased access may very well lead to a trade-off in terms of equity (Cummings & Riddell, 1992, p. 7).

Quality. Quality has been a major challenge for educational policy makers worldwide. Although it is being promoted as a policy priority, it has so far defied any systematic definition. Not only has it proved to be an enigmatic concept, it has been even more difficult to clearly identify the factors that affect the quality of education.

Twenty years of research on school quality in the United States and Western Europe, defined largely as increased performance on achievement scores, have not yielded definitive answers on the relationship between factors presumed to influence quality and actual increased performance (See Fuller, 198?). Research exists in this area, yet one would have to ask if the concern of quality is at all captured by current performance measures and in so doing, question the scope, validity, and relevance of this research.
One consistent finding has been the positive effect of the students' family background on their performance. Parents who actively engage themselves in their childrens' learning through monitoring homework, and maintaining high expectations for their achievement seem to be the key to improved performance (Davis & Ostrom, 1991). Though Fuller's (198?) review of the last twenty years of school quality research fails to indicate a clear and consistently positive relationship between school quality and classroom and school management, more recent research is indicating that the internal organization of schools is what makes a difference in educational performance (Davis & Ostrom, 1991). This provides the base for the argument that if those directly responsible for the classroom process and student learning, i.e. teachers and principals, have independence and increased responsibility over the provision of educational services, then higher quality of education can be realized (Cummings,1989).

Quality or excellence in the current decentralization parlance in the United States is the latest educational policy priority. This priority seems to be predicated on "the assumption that access has little value and does not achieve equity in the long run if it is access to an inferior product" (Bock & Arthur, 1991, p. 317). One of the strategies for achieving educational quality is the strengthening of local educational management capacity. Management is such a critical issue that the argument has been advanced that public administration as a field has an important role to play in the management of education (Sherwood, 1992). Cummings & Riddell (1992) similarly conclude from their review of decentralization policies in 127 countries that local control alone is not sufficient to produce educational quality, school level management capacity is an important ingredient in the school quality calculus.

While quality of education is now a top concern of educational policy makers in developing nations, it is by no means their only concern. The extension of access to schooling and issues of equity are still policy priorities in developing countries such as Indonesia (Bock & Arthur, 1991).

SECTION THREE

STRENGTHENING LOCAL EDUCATIONAL CAPACITIES

This section reviews strategies that strengthen local educational capacities at the school and local levels. Strategies for the local school and community are reviewed first, followed by strategies for local governance. They are reviewed in terms of how they affect the realization of educational outcomes. Educational goals and outcomes at the local level may be specific to the economic orientation of the regions and sensitive to the history, culture, and geography of the context. Goals and outcomes, thus may very well be locally diverse to suit the specific needs and requirements for the economic growth and development of that region.

School Governance

School governance is characterized by decision-making about the *provision* and the *production* of education.The provision of education includes such areas as the types of education, the quantity and quality of education, the degree of regulation of private activities, financing, the arrangement of production, and the monitoring of performance (Davis & Ostrom, 1991, p. 9-10). The production of education, on the other hand, involves the process of transforming inputs into outputs (Davis & Ostrom, 1991, p. 9-10). The concepts of provision and production have been collapsed in a succinct term, the *socio-technology of education* (Papagiannis, et al, 1991), defined as encompassing three interrelated dimensions of school operation:

- instructional methodology and curriculum
- administrative management and organization
- generation, allocation, and use of resources

Different school governance structures have evolved historically over time to handle the provision and production of education. Cummings & Riddell (1992) provide an excellent comparative and historical review of six different school governance structures which follow either a centralized tradition or a decentralized tradition. In the centralist tradition, they identify four models that have evolved since the seventeenth century:

- the Prussian model
- the Continental model
- the Lowlands model
- the Japanese model
- the Socialist model

In the decentralist tradition, they distinguish two models:

- the United Kingdom model
- the United States model

A brief review of each of these models of school governance highlights distinguishing characteristics and identifies the resulting aggregate outcomes of such structures.

The Prussian educational system is one of the earliest examples of a highly centralized governance structure designed specifically to exert national control and command loyalty from its subjects. Under this system, Prussia was the first to achieve universal access to primary education. Drawing from the Prussian experience, the continental model, represented by the French system, differed in its development of a line bureaucracy that set guidelines and established a framework for the provision and shared funding of education. Equity of opportunity and the availability of local resources was an ideological commitment inspired by the French Revolution. One of the strategies was to equalize at the center revenues collected

by local governments. Influenced by the French example, the Lowlands model (Holland, Belgium, and their colonies) adopted a centralized system for funding education, but allowed local and private management of education. Generous subsidies were designed to ensure quality and conformity to national requirements, thus permitting schools to enjoy considerable amounts of discretion. Initially imitating the French model, the Japanese set up a central ministry of education but modified the structure to assume full responsibility for totally financing basic education. Strong national commitment to the equal provision of basic education to all, especially in rural, peripheral areas, resulted in near universal enrollment of all eligible primary school children as early as 1905. The socialist model, also drawing from the continental model, set up a highly centralized system designed to serve state goals. Universal access to basic education and high academic quality at the advanced levels became the hallmark of the socialist model.

The UK and US school governance models are the major decentralized school governance structures, whereby local and state governments or private bodies establish local policies and control the provision and production of education. The difference between these two is that UK private schools may be subsidized by the state, whereas US private schools are self-supporting. The British system relies heavily on local responsibilities to shoulder the burden of providing education, which have resulted in the creation of inequities throughout the system. The American system is a highly devolved system, with no national policy on education, leaving the responsibility for education entirely up to locally elected school boards. Developments in decentralization are promoting the further devolvement of responsibilities to the individual school.

While large nations such as the United States is operating a decentralized educational system, Indonesia still has one of the most centralized systems relying predominantly on central policy direction and funding (Cummings, 1992). In a climate of financial austerity, governments with the support of international lending agencies are looking to alternative governance strategies and structures that will allow the realization of educational goals and outcomes at the national level, yet at the same time be sensitive to the diversity of local direction and outcomes.

Alternative Models of School Governance

School governance practices and structures are the product of the country's legal and political history (Cummings & Riddell, 1992). Governance practice and structures emerge from a historical context and therefore strategies for change are context specific and very sensitive to local political and legal realities (Cummings & Riddell, 1992; Davis & Ostrom, 1991; Papagiannis, et al., 1991). With this caveat in mind, the following section presents a review of practices in school governance.

Figure 3 provides a conceptual map of the predominant proposals for decentralization in education. This schema is necessarily a simplistic one, but does nevertheless, capture the core ideas in the literature.

The top box in the figure represents the hierarchical, centralized model of educational bureaucracy that typifies a country such as Indonesia. Economic, administrative, and political arguments advanced by academicians, practitioners, and international lending agencies combine to impel a departure from the hierarchical model of financing, managing, and delivering educational services. Interestingly, the very outcomes which were to be gained by a centralized management of public education -- concerns about national competitiveness and equality of access -- provide the impetus for the opposite (Cummings, 1989).

The two school governance models, public choice and public service, differ fundamentally in their philosophical orientation and assumptions. One is market-based and relies on economic concepts, while the second is non-market based and relies on administrative and political concepts. Each model houses two main strategies for decentralization. The public choice model includes two strategies: privatization and vouchers or user fees. The public service model includes two strategies: collectivist and consumerist (Hoggett & Hambleton (1987). Each of these four approaches affect the realization of national and local level goals and outcomes differently.

Public Choice. A public choice model for decentralizing services is premised on neo-classical economics (Hoggett & Hambleton, 1987; Papagiannis, et al, 1991). The public choice model proposes moving closer to a private market solution by allowing parents

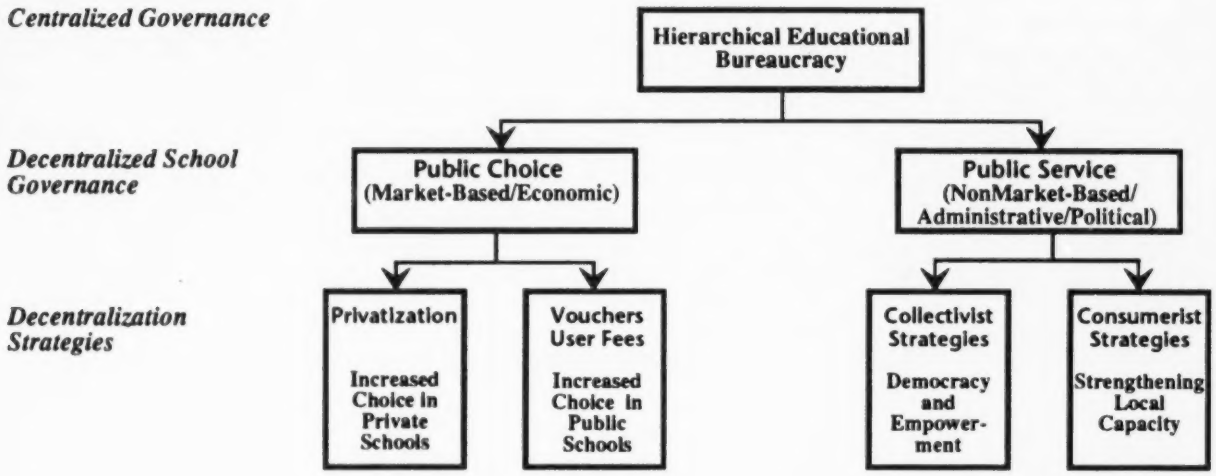

Figure 3. A Conceptual Schema of Alternative Models of Decentralization Strategies
(Sources: Cummings & Riddell, 1992; Hoggett & Hambleton, 1987; Papagiannis, et al, 1991; Winkler, 1988.

to have a greater degree of choice in the selection of their children's schools. In essence, the public choice model simply seeks to replace public provision of schools with private provision of schools. In the private provision of education, children or students are the clients of the educational system. Schools have to compete with each other for clients, i.e. students (Cummings & Riddell, 1992; Davis & Ostrom, 1991).

The public choice model for decentralizing school governance has dominated the decentralization movement in education. The key assumption in this model is that reliance on the private provision of schooling through competition among schools will produce higher quality education. Parents will choose those schools that offer better curricula, better teachers, and better facilities. Competitive forces, thus, will eliminate those schools that do not attract sufficient students to pay for their operation and will foster only schools that stand up to the competition. Market forces will select the best schools to survive (Davis & Ostrom, 1991).

Although this alternative model of school governance is promoted strongly as a policy alternative by the donor community, practical experiences in countries who have experimented with the public choice model already indicate serious deleterious consequences on equity and access. Educational choice presumes that there is a selection of schooling options available to the client. The problem with the implementation of this choice model is precisely that "there may be little, if any choice" (Cummings & Riddell, 1992, p. 64) in low income countries. Where there is a selection of schooling options, public choice ensures choice only for those with the private means to afford all the options (Ilon referred to in Cummings & Riddell, 1991). Therefore, access to schooling becomes determined by the parents ability to pay and is counter to the very system outcomes of access and equity it was intended to achieve in the first place.

Public Service. In contrast to the public choice model, the public service model for decentralizing school governance seeks to change the way in which the provision of services is undertaken, not to replace

the provision of public services with private services. The two public service variants are non-market based. The collectivist strategy is more concerned with the needs and responsibilities of consumers as a collective group and leans heavily on the democratization of power in the educational system. The consumerist strategy draws heavily from the recent private sector developments in management and organizational decentralization giving prominence to consumer feedback and satisfaction to ensure quality service.

Decentralization Strategies

The educational choice and service models advocate different strategies for financing the provision of education. Each of the four mentioned above are elaborated below.

Privatization Strategies. Privatization relies on private sources to finance the provision of educational services. This strategy is considered the extreme form of decentralization and is advocated by the donor community for its benefits of promoting efficiency and tapping new resources, i.e. that of parents, families, and the community (Cummings, 1989; Cummings & Riddell, 1992). Empirical evidence, however, indicates otherwise.

Limited experimentation with community financing of education in Sri Lanka for example, has highlighted the perverse consequences of relying on the private market for education (Cummings, 1989; Cummings, et al, 1992; Cummings & Riddell, 1992; Davis & Ostrom, 1992). Privatization of educational provision leads to inequitable distribution of individual access to services and collective resources available to the schools. If access to schooling is entirely determined by fees paid by their family, then children from poor families will be excluded. Where communities are poor there will be severe limitations on their ability to finance the provision of schooling. Even though poorer communities can provide non-monetary contributions, the availability of resources to the school will be severely constrained. The result is increasing inequities between schools as more affluent communities are able to make proportionally greater contributions. Davis & Ostrom (1992), in fact, argue that because direct benefits of education are subject to exclusion, any model of school governance that relies primarily on private rather than public provision generates inequities over time (p. 15). Unless the central level intervenes as a regulating force, disparities which exist between different local resource bases will be exacerbated (Cummings & Riddell, 1991).

The most recent developments in US privatization strategies involve the proposal for placing the governance of public education entirely in the hands of private corporations (Longworth, 1992). The *Edison Project*, headed by the former president of Yale University and funded by a private Texan entrepeneur, is one of the first of such ventures to set up a system of private schools. Two goals drive this project: (1) profit; and (2) the revolutionizing of American education. It is, however, unclear at this stage what the revolutionizing of American education would entail. The Edison project is still in its early stages of design and planning, but the first schools are scheduled for operation in 1996. The fact that public education represents a new potentially uncharted market with prospects of profit for private corporations, requires some serious questioning about desired goals and outcomes for society as a whole and what the function of education should be.

Vouchers and User Fees. A voucher system or user fees represents a radical form of decentralization, whereby the provision of education is shifted to a regional or state level that then funds private and public schools in light of some commonly approved criteria, such as the number of students they attract (Cummings & Riddell, 1991; Davis & Ostrom, 1991). Davis & Ostrom (1991) have pointed out that it is harder to assess the results of this approach both because there is so little empirical experience of the effects of voucher systems and because theoretical predictions are difficult to make without quite specific information about how a voucher system might be established. Based on limited experience, voucher systems have been found to have adverse effects on the outcome of equity. Cummings & Riddell (1991) argue that the distribution of schools is bound to be more restricted in poor areas with the introduction of increased user fees. The effect of this may be that those denied education at the primary level may then be denied a secondary education and access to university, which will then seriously disadvantage their own children in the next generational cycle (p. 64).

Collectivist Strategies. In this strategy, education is seen primarily as a public or a social service that is provided to a collectivity of consumers. Education is a good or service that is a basic need and right required by all children (Cummings, 1992; Hoggett & Hambleton, 1987). The collectivist approach is informed by a perspective that education is primarily political. It addresses issues such as power, the needs for collective groups of consumers as opposed to individual consumers, and the absence of choice in the public sector. It aims to strengthen local democracy and to redistribute power and responsibility throughout society by including mainstream and marginal groups. Empowering the consumer, being open to different perspectives, drawing on the wealth of experience and ability in the community, and responding swiftly and effectively to issues identified are all strategies that would typify this approach. But these strategies can only work in a kind of organizational culture that is open, democratic, self-critical, anxious to learn, and eager to appraise its own performance (see Hoggett & Hambleton, 1987; Winkler, 1988).

Whether the impetus for decentralization is initiated at the top as a matter of government policy or is impelled from the bottom, the rationale is to give more autonomy of governance and administration to the local level (Cummings, 1989). McGinn and Street (1986) argue that indeed redistribution of political power is the primary objective of decentralization. With this as the objective, decentralization is undertaken to empower groups in society to shape and support central government policies.

Consumerist Strategies. In this strategy, education is seen primarily as an issue of production and administration. It draws heavily from developments in the private sector and focusses on issues of service responsiveness to and accessibility by the consumer. Consumer satisfaction, quality assurance, getting close to the consumer, and becoming more accessible to the consumer are all strategies that typify this approach. Quality of service is the emphasis, rather than quantity. A consumerist approach seeks to bring this about through greater managerial delegation, a reintegration of divided service functions, an improved management information system, and more consistent client/consumer awareness. These strategies are intended to provide the basis for more local and extended forms of accountability (Hoggett & Hambleton, 1987).

The consumerist approach represents a more limited kind of decentralization (Cummings, 1989) because it does not propose to turn over the provision of educational services to the private sector. Efforts at strengthening local educational capacity fall in this category. Proposals involve providing better education more efficiently and effectively by turning responsibility over to officials close to schools or private governing bodies through school or site-based management and involving the community in the provision of education.

Site-based management. Site-based management is designed to promote more autonomy and allow for greater control at the individual school level by placing the responsibility of the school's performance squarely on the shoulders of those closest to the delivery of services, i.e., the teachers and the principals (Hill & Bonan, 1987). Shifting the locus of control to the school site has signalled a concommitant transformation in the role of the principal and the way decisionmaking is structured. Where individual schools are experimenting with school-site decisionmaking, the principal takes on the role of site-based manager (Hill & Bonan, 1991). In the case of the US, where the educational system has historically developed a highly devolved governance structure, control lies in the hands of local district school boards. These school boards, comprised of locally elected members, are responsible for establishing policies and procedures that govern school operation. (Cummings & Riddell, 1992; Papagiannis, et al, 1991). The shift to site-based management as an alternative school governance structure represents a further devolution of control down to the individual head of the school who is held personally responsible and accountable for the success of the school (Kirst referred to in Hill & Bonan, 1991). In this model, the principal is ultimately responsible for the outcomes of the school.

Closely related to the concept of the site-based management concept is the idea of shared decisionmaking. School staff and their principal enter a productive collaboration when the school principal as manager shares the decisionmaking. Where there is shared decisionmaking between principal and school staff, teachers and the principal are collectively

responsible for school outcomes (Hill & Bonan, 1991). The level of confidence in this practice is high given that recent educational research has shown that schools led by principals who have considerable autonomy and can develop effective working teams are more likely to produce the kind of environment in which students make the most progress in terms of achievement scores (Davis & Ostrom, 1991, p. 24). The US context is not a typical context internationally. One of the findings of the Cummings & Riddell's comparative study is that greater local control does not necessarily lead to greater achievement. Whether we are looking at a highly devolved or a highly centralized system, higher performance does not automatically result from better localized management practices. Both the RAND study by Hill & Bonan (1991) and the review by Papagiannis, et al (1991) indicate clearly that there has to be commitment from the top and that institutional arrangements must be strengthened not only at the school but also at the local and central levels. Changes have to be systemic not only localized. The strengthening of capacity at the central level must also occur in order to support changes at the local and school levels (Cummings, 1992).

This new conventional wisdom, however, is not shared by all. Cummings & Riddell's (1992) historical and comparative study on alternative policies for the finance, control, and delivery of basic education showed that more centralized educational systems (e.g. Japan, France, and the Soviet Union) achieved a higher level of quality in basic education more equitably and at lower cost than do the more decentralized educational systems (e.g. the US, the UK, and Sweden). Furthermore, they found that decentralized systems required a more extensive administrative staff, while more centralized systems tended to have leaner bureaucracies. Yet, viewed from the angle of population size, centralized in Japan or France could be viewed as decentralized to a local level in a country the size of Indonesia. Though sparingly referred to in the literature, population size must be considered when planning decentralization.

School-community support and involvement. Since the early 1970's community involvement and support has been a major outcome sought by means of decentralization efforts (Conyers, 1983; 1984; Rondinelli, 1981). Especially in a climate of budgetary austerity, national governments are looking more to local governments and communities as a source of new revenues to support an increasing share of the financial burden in providing public and social services. Community involvement in education in particular is sought as an important local outcome for three reasons:

- Additional resources to generate financial and in-kind support for schools from the local community.
- Parental involvement to ensure that parents enroll their children, monitor their progress, and maintain high expectations for their children.
- School's place in community to ensure that schools are sensitive to community needs, especially in terms of curriculum (Cummings, et al, 1992).

The Sri Lanka study in management reform by Cummings, et al (1992) found that school-community relations did not involve only exchanges of material resources and organized activities. Enthusiasm, cordial relations with the school, and especially faith in the principal provided the glue that bonded school-community relations, especially in the poorer communities.

One of the key findings of this Sri Lanka management reform was the role and status of the principal in building school/community support and involvement. Cummings, et al (1992) found that the degree of respect that a principal was able to command was key to building school-community relations among village schools. The better educated a principal was and the higher his or her career status, the greater the community support. Strong leadership on the part of the principal, his or her proximity to the school, and the school's ability to support the community in its activities was also found to affect the level of community support and involvement.
Not only did the strength of the principal's leadership and his/her ability to improve the school play a key role in establishing strong school-community relations, ministry interest and action on behalf of the school was also important. Central linkage was again found to be important to success at the local level.

Local Governance

Local governance is a term that harbors an inherent conflict between the concept of local and governance. Local implies "some control over decisions by the community" (Page, 1991, p.1). Yet, though local control over decisions may be supplied by locally elected officials or by direct citizen involvement and organized interest groups, local government is a subordinate institution to national government. Therefore, its structures and powers are ultimately subordinate and susceptible to the control and authority of the central government, which "might constrain the pursuit of differences derived from locally established preferences" (Page, 1991, p. 2). The degree to which local government decisions are in fact local is likely to vary from one locality to the next and from one type of decision to the next depending on the extent to which local actors shape local decisions, the degree of dependence on central government, the party control of the locality, or the degree of controversy generated by the issue at hand (Page, 1991, p. 1-2). The level of local autonomy, i.e., how much local government controls decisions regarding spending, the number of public employees it employs, and the range of regulatory activity for which it is responsible, is in constant tension with the central government's needs to ensure the integrity of the state as a whole political system. This tension between the goals, desired outcomes, and means of the central government and local areas may take a couple of key forms:

- Creative, through communication and relationships in technical assistance, training, and leadership in development and commitment to participation in a political process.
- Adversarial, through accountability in rules and regulations and adherence to law.

Political and Legal Dimensions

Page's (1991) comparative study of local governance in seven European countries introduces two dimensions along which local government politicians can influence local decisions: political and legal. The legal dimension represents the scope for action by the local authority in its freedom to run and shape public services. The range of powers and the level of discretion in fulfilling these powers are shaped by formal legal provisions and local agencies and staff of central government ministries are accountable to bureaucratic superiors (Uphoff, 1986). The political dimension deals with ensuring that local interests are represented at the national level. Elected or appointed bodies are accountable to the local residents but are not themselves members of the local government (Uphoff, 1986).

Both dimensions offer opportunities and constraints to local political elites to shape the delivery of educational services. Local political elites can influence educational policy through using their "constitutional or legal position at the head of a government organization and directing it according their own priorities." They might, for example, raise revenues, allocate spending, decide how and where the money should be spent, set out conditions of service and behavior for teachers and principals, and make a variety of decisions affecting the quality of the services they deliver. Local elites, such as local interest groups, can also influence educational policy "by using their political authority as democratically legitimate representatives of the locality, or a significant section of its population, to influence national decisions in so far as they affect the locality" (Page, 1991, p. 5-6).

Local governance, thus, entails both bureaucratic (local administration) and political (local government) public sector institutions that are backed by the force of the law and the resources of the national government (Uphoff, 1986). The different configurations of local governance along the legal and political dimensions are yet another source of local diversity of preferences, needs, requirements, and desires. In addition to the diversity in the constitutional arrangement at the local level, factors such as culture, topography, history, demography, and economic orientation contribute to the complexity. Strengthening local educational capacity at the local governance level along the legal and political dimension is critical in support of changes introduced at the local school level. In a decentralized system, the local level will increasingly be required to provide the linkage between the school and the central level.

Institutional Development

Since the early eighties, local institutional development has been recognized by large donor agencies, especially USAID, to be critical for successful implementation and longevity of decentralization projects (Esman & Uphoff, 1982; Ralston, et al, 1983; Uphoff, 1986). Institutional development is both a means for strengthening educational capacity at the local level as well as a general development end in itself. The concern for strengthening local educational capacity becomes what kinds and combinations of local institutions are likely to be most appropriate and supportive of what kinds of educational activities, and how they can best be supported. Conversely, when are the support, promotion, and sustaining of these kinds of educational activities better left to national institutions (Uphoff, 1986).

If the central government takes the route of developing new institutions, there are some key factors which must be kept in mind. One of the key factors is the importance of infusing the organization with value beyond its technical role (Sherwood, 1969). If the organization has value to its membership, it will not be expendable and people within the organization will protect it from demise. This ensures the longevity of the organization as an institution. A second factor is that membership must not only prize the organization, it must have vested interest in it. Participation of the members in the community, thus, becomes an important vehicle for institutional development. Participation at what point, on what tasks, how often, and by whom is comprehensively addressed by Easton (1983). Dependence on a single source of resources (such as central government) is a third factor that reduces local institutional development. Finally, leadership, program development, and the organizational structure are all elements that also require careful consideration (Sherwood, 1969). In developing new institutions, however, one must bear in mind that one will be competing with already existing institutions for people's resources, time, and loyalties (Uphoff, 1986).

Learning Process Approach

To adopt Uphoff's (1986) definition, institutional development is "a process that is less amenable to 'blueprint approaches' and one that requires considerable innovation in its implementation" (p. 10). The blueprint approach to institutional development emphasizes detailed preplanning and is bounded by time.

A learning process approach, on the other hand, depends on learning from mistakes, gaining experience, and experimenting in order to support the scale of program that local institutions can carry (Korten, 1980). A learning process approach to local institutional development is premised on a few key assumptions:

- Situations are dynamic and everchanging. It is theoretically and practically impossible to know every detail in advance that will help realize outcomes. Flexibility is critical.
- Situations are unique and contexts are more heterogeneous than they are homogeneous. There is no standard universal model that fits all circumstances and all contexts.
- Improvisation, innovation, adaptation, and modification are skills that are as crucial at the implementation stage as at the design stage. (Adapted from Uphoff, 1986)

Since situations are unique, and people need to apply their own ingenuity to local needs and requirements, the whole development process itself can be viewed as a learning experience for all participants involved (Korten, 1980). Because of the focus on learning and experience in this approach, local institutional development must be seen as a developmental process that requires developmental time. Changes should proceed experimentally in increments and in manageable geographic areas to build experience, which informs and directs subsequent policy (Uphoff, 1986, p. 78).

The articulation of this learning approach derived from Korten's (1980) examination of five successful Asian rural development programs:

- The Indian National Dairy Development Board, initiated in the 1940s, developed new programs based on a bottom-up process of gradually building, learning, and testing the board's own capacity to provide effective support to federations of dairy cooperatives in rural India. Achieving economic outcomes was the organizational mandate and management systems were carefully worked out

through experience to meet the demands of the program. Values such as integrity, service, and commitment to the poorest member-producers were the guiding principles that steered the practice of the organization.

- The Sri Lankan Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, a private and national community development model based on strong spiritual values, developed training programs that strengthened villagers capacities in decentralized decisionmaking by giving them the autonomy to plan their own development activities. Using a participatory research design, villagers were trained to make their own programming decisions, determine their own research needs, and gather and interpret their own data.
- The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a small private voluntary organization adopted a rapid learning process of constantly identifying, acknowledging, and correcting its own errors resulting in the increased ability to respond to real village needs. One of the main premises of this organization was that each village was unique in its particular strengths and that specific accomplishments were the responsibility of village leadership. Using a participatory research technique, this organization developed a responsive style of programming designed to facilitate decentralized operation within a strong but evolving policy framework. Open discussion of difficult issues, acceptance of apparent errors, providing firm decisions when needed, and continual investment in the development of new skills and methodologies were the key elements of this organization's leadership.
- The Thailand Community Based Family Planning Services, relied on the continued contact with actual field operations, developing a close integration of research and operations. Based on lessons learned, a system was devised whereby supervisors received supplies at their monthly meeting for delivery to the village distributors who also received prepaid, pre-addressed post cards to mail to Bangkok whenever supplies failed to arrive. Continued program improvement rested on learning from the immediate experience of the program leadership who were in direct contact with villagers and program operations.
- The Philippines National Administration Communal Irrigation Program (NIA), administered by one of the largest public agencies in the Philippines (43,000 employees), was designed to reach the rural poor and to support community managed irrigation through farmer participation in system planning and construction. This program provides a model of organizational change by which a large, established, bureaucratic, technology-based, public organization are able to redesign its programs and structures through a bottom-up, field-based, learning process. It is well-worth noting in more detail. The model has several critical elements:

  - ***A series of time-phased learning laboratories***, a pilot effort emphasizing learning about, assessing quickly, and refining methods when it becomes clear that the intended intermediate outcomes are not produced. Revision of method or approach is based on additional insights generated by the experience.
  - ***A national communal irrigation committee***, a locus which provides the moving force behind the communal (farmer owned and operated system) efforts and coordinates the overall learning process.
  - ***Process-oriented research***, considered an integral part of the learning process which seeks to find the best fit between requirements of the new methods for assisting communals and the existing NIA management system.
  - ***Seeding pilots***, opened in each region with its own learning laboratory through which regional personnel could gain experience with new methods and adapt them to their needs.

Though these programs were diverse in their objectives, setting, and approach, they were recognized as successful in achieving effective program action. They were marked by program leadership with commitment, patience, and continuity. Success was assessed in terms of ***a high degree of fit*** between the program design, the needs of the ultimate beneficiary, and the capacities of the assisting organization. The five Asian experiences revealed that the critical fit was between the ability of the beneficiaries to define, articulate, and communicate their needs and the assisting organization to receive and respond to the information. Korten (1980) argues that the way this fit is or is not achieved determines the success or failure in efforts to build the community's capacity for local

problem solving. It is clear that the success of strengthening local capacity efforts relies on first-hand knowledge of the people involved, their needs, and the locally available resources. Indeed, Korten (1980) emphasizes: "Simply basing planning on well-developed knowledge of the people of the program area, and of the strategies they employ for survival and advancement would be a major advance for most programs" (p. 508).

Third Sector Collaboration

Besides public and private sectors, there is also a "third sector" which must be recognized (Uphoff ,1986). The third sector comprises local voluntary as well as private organizations which share characteristics of both public and private sector. They behave like public institutions, i.e., their action is collective rather than individual, their decisionmaking proceeds by consensus and persuasion, and they are concerned more about public than private benefit. They resemble private institutions in that they are flexible and adaptive. Three types of voluntary and private organizations could receive local institutional development support to strengthen local educational capacity (Uphoff, 1986):

- Member or voluntary organizations or associations
- Cooperatives
- Service organizations, such as charitable associations and service clubs

Membership or voluntary organizations such as religious, ethnic, and caste associations typically organize for exclusive clientele who may or may not be geographically bound. Voluntary organizations have three main strengths. They have well-defined clienteles who are loyal as well as long-term and have interests that cover a wide range of activities. Voluntary organizations, thus, are clientele exclusive but multipurpose in their activities. Their weakness, however, lies precisely in their exclusivity and motivation to advance only their membership (Ralston, et al, 1983; Uphoff, 1986).

In contrast, single purpose associations or cooperatives are effective in promoting changes that require short-term action, but are often viewed as a means to an end. Therefore, long-term loyalty, commitment, and participation are not commanded from its membership. The record of cooperatives has been predominantly one of failure, often leading to strengthening the position of local elites rather than integration of the rural poor into the development process (Korten, 1980; Ralston, et al, 1983; Uphoff, 1986). One reason suggested for this is that cooperatives tend to be government creations, not voluntary creations of individuals to increase their collective power (Korten, 1980).

Service organizations, such as the Red Cross and other charitable societies, primarily help people other than their members though members also benefit. Those who benefit are regarded as clients and thus do not determine the decisionmaking activities of the organization. Though the organization may receive public funds through government subsidies or contracts and may be subject to some public regulation, they are still considered a private sector organization (Uphoff, 1986, p. 5-6).

These organizations tend to be already pre-existing and functioning institutions, having evolved to meet local needs and conditions, and thus familiar and accepted locally. New government or donor agency initiated activities should collaborate with these organizations keeping in mind their existing capacities and complimentarities and building on the existing patterns of responsibility, communication, and resource mobilization as much as possible (Uphoff, 1986). One of the most consistent findings in the literature on local institutional development is that existing local institutions are willing to engage in new development activities, "so long as the activities [are] ones which [are] beneficial and appreciated by members and so long as decisions [are] not imposed from outside" (Uphoff,1986, p. 7).

While enlisting the support and involvement of voluntary organizations, however, it is important to remember that these organizations cater to an exclusive clientele. Often the Western donor requirement to distribute benefits democratically throughout the locality may clash "with the obligations the recipients have to already existing clienteles" (Ralston, et al, 1983, p. 45). Although the literature documents risks attached to channeling development through such associations, they may prove key allies in activities which require support and commitment over the long term. Yet, the literature indicates the difficulty in linking up with local institutions effectively (Uphoff, 1986).

SECTION FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

This literature review was framed conceptually by an outcome orientation that guided the search for practices and strategies for strengthening educational capacities at the local level. The underlying premise was that the choice of practice and structure must be a function of educational goals and outcomes defined at the local and national levels.The ability to articulate goals and outcomes help to clarify the purpose and provide an answer to the question "what are we decentralizing for?" Clarity of desired goals and outcomes in turn provide a frame for choosing among alternative routes toward achieving them. The question of "how do go about decentralizing" then becomes dependent on the answer to "what are we decentralizing for?"

Implications for Strengthening Local Education Capacity

One of the most important lessons to emerge from the five Asian decentralization experiences in rural development (India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Thailand, and the Philippines) is that strengthening local capacity is a developmental process of experimenting, learning from errors, building experience, and developing local institutions that reflect the needs, goals and outcomes, and values of the local level. This learning process requires specific commitment from participants and leadership over time. Intersectoral experiences (school-based management and rural development) indicate that long-term commitment from leadership, building of local experience and practice, the fit between the articulation and communication of local needs and the ability of the central administrative level to respond to and support local initiatives are some of the key factors in the success of strengthening capacities at the local level.

A developmental process follows its own evolutionary course and time imperatives that may not fit neat project time schedules. Lessons from decades of project work indicate that "excessive pressures for immediate results, drive out attention to institution building" (Korten, 1980, p. 484), ensuring that neither local conditions are responded to or local institutional capacities are developed. Because of bureaucratic and foreign assistance programatic imperatives (preference for large, capital-and import-intensive, easy to monitor and inspect, quick to implement, and suitable for cost-benefit analysis projects), donor organizations tend to lack "a flexible, sustained, experimental, action based capacity building style of assistance which most major donors are ill equipped to provide" (Korten, 1980, p. 484).

Strengthening capacities at the local level alone is not sufficient in and of itself to accomplish educational goals and outcomes desired at the national and local levels. Strengthening capacity at the national level to respond and provide appropriate support to local level initiatives are needed simultaneously. In particular, the development and dissemination of improved technologies, the mobilization and management of resources has been suggested as a role appropriate for the national level in support of strengthening local educational capacities (Cummings & Riddell, 1991; Hill & Bonan; Papagiannis, et al, 1991; Uphoff, 1986). This picture, however, is not complete. Educational policy and implementation in low income countries tend to be heavily influenced by international lending agencies (Bock & Arther, 1990). Building the capacity of donor organizations to assist in ways that are truly responsive to locally identified and defined needs, while building local technical capacity which support the strengthening of local educational capacity initiatives at the national level is

another key to strengthening local capacity successfully (Korten, 1980).

Suggestions for Further Research

This literature review focused on practices and strategies for strengthening educational capacities at the local level. Much more, however, needs to be elaborated in terms of the effects of different local level strategies on achieving educational goals and outcomes. A review of educational decentralization case studies in terms of desired goals and outcomes would provide a broader base of understanding.

Following the same conceptual framework, a review of strategies and practices at the national level which respond to and provide support to strengthening local capacity initiatives would add to a fuller understanding of the process of decentralization. Further research of national level strategies to support local educational capacities can be conducted in the following areas:

National Level Strategies

Linkages
- Schools and Bureaucracy
- EMIS for Decisionmaking
  - Upward Flow of Information
  - Downward Flow of Information

Support to Local Governance and Administration
- Regional Development
- Training and Capacity Building
- Unity in Diversity
- Responsiveness to Local Initiatives
- Budgeting and Funding Mechanisms

As concluded previously, building the capacity of donor organizations to be responsive to locally identified and defined needs, while assisting national level efforts at strengthening local educational capacity is a third conceptual domain that can be added to the original conceptual framework. The following areas are tentatively suggested for research into practices and strategies at the international level that may support strengthening educational capacities at the local and national levels:

International Level Strategies

A Learning Process Approach To Program Development And Support
- Private Voluntary Organizations
- Bilateral Aid Organizations
- Multilateral Aid Organizations

Together these two additional levels, national and international, provide a fuller scope of what a process of decentralization would involve. Because the local, national, and international levels are intertwined in a complex organizational web with important social, economic, and political consequences, a major system change, such as decentralization, cannot be isolated to one level only.

A final concluding comment is the following note of caution. Centralization of educational systems was once a nation's solution to the problem of fragmentation. In a subsequent era, the solution became the source of a host of other problems requiring another solution, decentralization. It is instructive to remember that solutions to problems in time become themselves the source of another problem. Yet, internal as well as external environmental forces are converging to demand that governments begin to heed to call for decentralization. How a government proceeds to decentralize educational governance, for what goals and outcomes, to what level, how, and at what rate cannot be standard across countries, regions, or localities. The diversity of social and economic development, cultural traditions, languages and religions, institutional experience, local leadership, and ability to communicate desired outcomes that exists across regions and localities in the same country require that the national and international level develop organizational processes that are sensitive and responsive to this complexity.

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